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Fido by Guarini, printed by Wolfe in 1591. The peculiar frame of the initial letter—a wrap is suspended above the centre—of the Proemio recurs in Stow's *Survey of London*, printed by Wolfe in 1598, pp. 60, 102 and 161. The initial letters of the several books are duplicated in Ubaldino: *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri*, printed by Wolfe in 1591, viz., Books III, IV, V and VII, on pp. 70, 54, 5 and 7.⁴ Finally, and this is the most telling correspondence, the very peculiar ornamental strip of the close of the Proemio and Book I occurs once more in Stow's *Survey*, p. 450, top.

If the *Historie* were not given to John Wolf by the Registers, parallels of type could be adduced from the *Pastor Fido* and of initial letters from the *Vite delle Donne*. Thus everything tends to bear out the evidence of the palm tree and the Registers and to confirm John Wolfe's title to all the editions of Machiavelli.

As for Pietro Aretino's second work which is accredited by the Registers, I will only say that it is in type, number of lines on page, etc., exactly like the *Comedie* and the *Asino*, and shares one initial letter with the *Vite delle Donne*, another kind with the *Comedie* and *Asino*, and the device on the title page with the *Comedie*. It, therefore, cannot possibly have been printed in Venice.

3. The first volume of Aretino. Here John Wolfe's claim is based on correspondences of type, initial letters and other ornaments almost exclusively since there exist two more editions of the first and second parts of it with the same preface by the fictitious Barbagrighia and the same year and date. Very fortunately circumstantial evidence is abundant. For convenience sake I designate the Parts by Roman and the Giornate by Arabic figures. The italics are those of the *Arte* and the other books cited there, and the large initial letters those of the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe*, though, as was stated above, they were not

confined to John Wolfe. The frame of the initial letter with the suspended wrap I, 1 is that of the *Arte* and the *Survey*. The frames of two kinds of initial letters not found in any other of the eight works under consideration likewise recur in the *Survey*, viz.: that of the Preface of Barbagrighia on p. 450, and those of II, 1; III, Proemio and III, Lettera on pp. 58, 94 and 147. Thus all initial letters can be duplicated from other books printed by Wolfe. But still more satisfactory evidence is offered by the recurrence of the characteristic large square ornament which serves to fill the vacant space at the close of several divisions of Aretino's volume at the close of the text of the often quoted *Survey*. Circumstantial evidence of such completeness cannot fail to carry a good deal of weight with it. It will be further strengthened in the second part of this paper, which will deal with John Wolfe's personality, the reasons for his not putting his name on these editions and his merits for the promotion of the printing of Italian books in England.

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THE FRENCH NOVEL OF INTRIGUE FROM 1150 TO 1300. II.

One of the most interesting of romances, intrinsically and historically, is *Amadas et Idoine* (c. 1180).¹⁵ The author has not looked abroad for his heroine. Idoine is a daughter of Burgundy, positive, energetic, commonsense, and of a vigorous morality. Amadas, having overcome Idoine's indifference, is called away home. His sweetheart is married by her father to the Count of Nevers. In her extremity Idoine summons the dread spinster Clotho and her sisters. The three frighten the Count into the belief that his countess has an awful malady.¹⁶ The disappointed Amadas, meanwhile, has become raving mad, and

⁴ Again these two kinds of initial letters did not belong to John Wolfe exclusively, the frame of the first recurring in 'An Answer to the Untruthes,' printed, as stated above, by John Jackson for Thomas Cadman, in 1589. The second in *The Florentine Historie*, also cited above, printed by Thomas Creede for William Ponsonby, 1595. The little ornament above the Proemio is found in practically identical shape in Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio*, Pariggi, M.D. LXXXII.

¹⁵ *Amadas et Idoine*. p. p. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1863. Cf. *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901. Gaston Paris, p. 386 ff.

¹⁶ Engingniés est, partant s'en tient, l. 2441. Cf. *Cligès*, l. 3329.

wanders *amont, aval, et hors et ens*, coming finally to Lucca. Idoine informs herself of his condition and his whereabouts, and asks her husband's leave to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The Count, who is a man of affairs, is perfectly willing. With her esquire Garinès, Idoine sets out for Rome and stops at Lucca. She brings Amadas to his senses, persuades him to be reasonable when he protests that he is unworthy of her, puts fine raiment upon him, and sees to everything like the capable woman she is. The poet reflects on the subject of women :

Signor, je l'di, bien ai garant,	3570.
Fols est, qui en nule se fie.	3608.
Pour ce, si est de feme fine,	
Boine, loial, et enterine	
Une des mervelles du mont,	
Que mult tres peu de tex en sont.	
Une boine .c. homes vaut.	
De ces boines est Idoine une	3663.

So much accomplished, Idoine falls ill. About to die, so she thinks, she takes measures to keep Amadas alive. She confesses :

“ Par mon grant peciet amai
Ains de vous, s'en soïés certains,
Lonc tans .iii. miens cosins germains.”¹⁷

Amadas promises that with this information he will not die, whereat Idoine contentedly appears to. She is entombed. A certain ring revives her.

Idoine throughout has been stern with Amadas :

Que nus n'i puisse vilounie	6753.
Noter, ne mal, ne felounie. ¹⁸	

She and Amadas get home to Burgundy, where she tells the Count she has seen St. Peter at Rome —“*bele persoune me sambla*”—and St. Peter has advised a divorce. The Count is in love with another woman and matters are amicably arranged.¹⁹ Chrétien, although he must be allowed the palm of priority, has been distanced on his own ground. Fenice is too absorbed to show much imagination.²⁰ Idoine employs the Fates.

¹⁷ P. 175—the line numbering is confused.

¹⁸ Cf. *Cligès*, 5251 ; *Châtelain de Coucy*, 3621.

¹⁹ Il. 7367 ff. Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 2, 532—“*Die Lösung der Ehe ist ganz modern.*”

²⁰ Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.

The author of *Amadas et Idoine* has equally failed to face the situation, for one reason because his is a story of love that will not be thwarted, only incidentally a novel of intrigue. But Idoine's resort to magic and the complacency of the husband in the case class the story with *Cligès* and *Éracle*. Another point in common between the three is, that however frivolous the handling of the intrigue may be, we are sufficiently admonished that women in love must not be *parceniens*. Who could imagine Fenice and Athenais and Idoine unfaithful to Cligès, Paridès and Amadas? Chrétien and his school seem blind to the logic of their code which might lead anywhere—*feme est li oisiaz seur la rainne*.²¹ It is strange how few stories of irresponsible intrigue are to be found in the Old French period ; *Joufrois* (c. 1250),²² so far as I know, stands alone²³—evidently the work of a man to whom women are fair and not fond enough.

Count Joufrois, of Poitiers, Don Juan of his region, hears of a beautiful lady kept by her husband under watch in an ancient tower, near a city. Joufrois comes to this city for the tourneys, and in the field before the tower displays great prowess. At night he keeps open hostel.

Mais vos pas ne me demandez	1179.
Si la dame del chastel vit	
Lo bel hostel que li cuens fit ?	
Oïl certes, tot a devise.	

After Joufrois is gone—ne set qu'il fait qui feme gaite²⁴—Lady Agnes of the Ancient Tower sends out a man to make inquiries. The man returns and the lady is pleased :

“ Va,” fait ele, “ je le cuît bien ;	1398.
Qu'einz en mun cuer sor tote rien	
Pansoie je par devinaile	
Que ce estoit li cuens sanz faille.	
Biaus est et larcs et vigoros,	1405.
Aperz et sages et cortois ;	
Ce ai oï dire maintes fois.”	

The Count comes back in the guise of a hermit,

²¹ *Dolopathos*, 4259.

²² *Joufrois*. Herausgeg. v. Konrad Hofmann und Franz Muncker, Halle, 1880. Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 776.

²³ The Provençal *Flamenca* is similar. For a translation of the crucial dialogue, cf. Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Literatur*. Leipzig u. Wien, 1900, p. 89.

²⁴ *Éracle*, 4601.

a gaberlunzie man.²⁵ He had reckoned upon the sure effect of his lance play and largess within eyeshot of the tower. The husband of the lady is won by the godly bearing of the hermit and is moved to treat his wife with less severity. "God pardon me," he says, "you may do as you please from this day forth." She doubts at first, but her lord is serious and she is shrewd. She answers :

"Mais tant ai a pris ceste estage 1824.
Que jamais non voil a nul jor
Ensir de ceste aute tor,
Car n'ai pas ceste seigle a pris."

The husband is insistent :

"Ainz voil, qu'alez demain el jor 1842.
Veoir l'ermite en sa maison
Que ja ne verreiz si bien non."

The next morning, accordingly, the lady visits the hermitage (ll. 1853-2147). Afterwards, her husband asks if the hermit is not as represented. The lady answers yes :

Quant cil l'oï, molt en fu liez. 2163.
"Dame," fait il, "bien feriez
Si sovenz li aliez veoir ;
Que grant pro i poez avoir
De celui, qui toz nos chadele."
Et cele dit, si fera ele,
Puis que lui plaist, dorenavant.

Nothing is dodged in *Joufrois*, except the stricter ethics. The story is full of the "joy of life." Poitou, the country of Queen Eleanor, sent its contingents as well as Provence to the baths of Bourbonne where *celosos extremeños*, like Count Archambaut, took precautions in vain against wives like Flamenca.

We are assured that heaven and hell were very present to these people of the Middle Ages. Few of them seem to have realized those extremes in themselves. Hence perhaps their simplicities and their evasions in such serious matters as the personal relations of men and women. The *Châtelain de Coucy*²⁶ (c. 1300) is the only novel of the list in which there is any attempt at thoroughgoing analysis of the heart. The story by contrast seems modern.

Note the introduction of a man in love. The

²⁵ Cf. *Châtelain de Coucy*, ll. 6610-6650.

²⁶ *L'Histoire du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel*. p. p. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1829.

Châtelain de Coucy is enamored of the Dame de Fayel. He is announced at the castle :

Dist la dame : "Il soit bien venus : 133.
Or en r'alés à lui lasus
Et si li faites compaignie,
Et tant que g'iere appareillie."
La dame s'est tost acesmée, 149.
Car belle dame est tost parée."²⁷

The lady appears. She remarks the châtelain's troubled look and suspects the cause.

Lors dist : "Sire, je say de fit 186.
C'aucune chose vous anioie :
Se mes sires fust cy, grant joie
Vous feist, s'en fusse plus aise.
S'or n'i est cy ne vous desplaise.
Il i sera une autre fois."

The châtelain speaks of his heart. The answer is :

"Bien savés mes corps est liés 218.
Du fort lien de mariage ;
J'ay mary preu, vaillant et sage
Que pour homme ne fausseroie."

They go to supper. The châtelain is abstracted. The lady :

"Mengiés, je vous empri, 245.
Et par la foy que devés mi,
Faites un poi plus li chiere.
Vous fustes au tournoy l'autrier." 252.
Dist la dame, "j'oy conter."
—Haa ! dame, vous volés parler
D'autre chose que je ne voel."

The lady begins to think of her suitor's attractions. She hears him talked of ; he is conspicuous at tourneys :

La dame souvent oït 349.
Maint recort qu'al cuer li touchoit.
Mès encor n'estoit pas ferue
Du dart d'amours.

The châtelain makes a song to his lady. A minstrel sings it in her presence :

Et quant sot que cilz l'avoit fait 417.
Qui maint travail ot pour lui trait,
Amours le cuer li atendrie.

²⁷ Cf. *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry. Pour l'enseignement de ses filles*. A. de Montaiglon, Paris, 1854, ch. xxxi. D'une dame qui mettoit le quart du jour à elle appareillier, or, in the Tudor English translation, "I wolde ye knew an ensample of the lady that wolde have alwey a quarter of a day to arraie her."

The lord of Fayel is hospitable, unsuspecting.
When the châtelain calls again, Fayel says :

“ Dame, prenés 455.
Le chastelain et si lavés,
Qui nous a fait très grant honneur
Que ci fist ore son retour.
Lors ont lavé et sont assis.
De maintes causes ont parlé,
D’armes, d’amours, de chiens, d’oisiaus.
La dame n’ert pas enplaidie, 470.
Ains fu d’une maniere coie.
Et non pourquant ses iex envoie
Simplement vers le chastelain,
Esgarder ne l’ose de plain.

Fayel must be away to a case in court (un plait).
He bids his wife entertain their guest. Hostess
and guest play at *tables* and at talk. Wanting to
know when he will see her again, the châtelain
says :

“ Dame, j’entens que vous serés 667.
A la feste où li grant plentés
Ert des dames de cest pays.”
—Par Dieu, sire, vous dites voir 673.
Ma dame de Coucy her soir
Me manda que je y alaisse,
Ne pour nul soing ne le laissasse.”

In the lady’s heart common sense and passion
have debated (ll. 777 ff.). But at this tourney
the châtelain is very conspicuous. The heralds
give him honor :

La dame de Fayel ooit 1365.
Les parolles dont joie avoit,
Car li chastelains empresent
Véoit, et dedens son cuer sent
Que plus ne se poet destourner
Que il ne li conviegne amer.
Après souper avint ensy 1481.
Qu’au boire sist par dalès ly.
Tant ont là ensamble parlé 1500.
Qu’environ eulz sont tout levé,
Et lors d’ileuques se leverent.

They appoint a day for further talk, a Tuesday
when Fayel will be abroad. The Tuesday comes,
and the châtelain presents himself. They canvass
the situation. Wariness must be theirs, they
think. The châtelain suggests that a trusty maid
might help them :

La dame respont : “ Une en say 2217.
En qui très bien me fieray.
Et sy croy qu’elle va pensant 2227.
Un petitet no convenant
Puis les joustes de l’autre fois.”

A plan is sketched—secret doors, etc. The lady
opens her mind to the trusty maid, her cousin
Isabel. Isabel advises :

“ Miex ameroie estre dampné 2357.
Que par moy fuissies acasée.
Et non pourquant vous avés tort
Que avés fait de ce acort :
Car moult m’esmerveill par m’ame
De vous qui estes haute dame,
S’aves mari preu et vaillant
Et sus ce faites un amant.”

Lady Fayel defends her course, but says she will
try her man the first time he comes to the wicket
gate :

“ Adont le verrés-vous cesser 2406.
De ci venir d’ore en avant ;
Et s’il m’aime ne tant ne quant,
Ne laira, quoy qu’à lui aviengne
Que souventes fois n’i reviegne.”²⁸

Having found the door barred against him, the
châtelain goes home and to bed, sick of disap-
pointment. The lady is distressed at this upshot
of her pleasantry. Isabel conveys word that
nothing serious was meant. The châtelain writes
a letter the answer to which (ll. 3049 ff.) fixes
another day. This second time he is not long
kept waiting. At break of day Isabel warns.
The châtelain asks when he may hope to come
again :

A cel conseil fu appelée 3611.
La damoiselle, car senée
Estoit, et de bons avis plaine ;

²⁸ Cf. *Le Chastoiement des Dames*. Robert de Blois :
Sämmt. Werke. Herausgeg. v. Dr. Jacob Ulrich, Berlin,
1895. l. 750 :

S’il vous aime tant con il dist
Ne laira por nul escondit
Qu’il reviegne.

and *L’Art d’Amors* (Jacques d’Amiens), Dr. Gustav
Körting, Leipzig, 1868, ll. 2051–2061 :

La ou pues bien ton huis ouvrir
ens le pues metre et recoillir.
encor te voel ie consellier :
fai le un petit dehors muser.

Si lor dist : "Qui la vie maine
Qu'en pensée avés à mener,
Son cuer convient amesurer
Contre son vouloir à la fois,
Car li cuers n'entent que ses drois."

"One ought," says Isabel,

"Tous temps si privéement 3621.
Ouvrer que mal-parliere gent,
N'envieus, en sacent que dire."

Word will be sent, she adds,

"Par lettres que feray parler 3651.
En mon non sans nul mot sonner
De ma dame pour riens qui soit,
Pour le peril s'il avenoit
Que li garçons eüst perdu
Les lettres."

Isabel knows her world. A jealous lady of
Vermandois—

Moult est la dame en grant esrouer 3951.
Et moult s'avise par quel tour
Pora savoir sans lonc plait faire
La verité de cest affaire—

sets a spy upon the châtelain's goings and comings. Hence it is Fayel who admits the châtelain when he knocks at the secret door one night. The visitor protests that he comes to see Isabel, who bears him out and is confirmed by her mistress—a very dramatic scene (ll. 4648 ff.):

"Voir," dist li sires, "j'ay merveilles 4733.
Je croy que siec sus mes oreilles,
Ne sai que penser ne que dire
Si bel vous savés escondire.
Or chastelains, vous en irés."

From this point clever deception degenerates into vulgar subterfuge. Domestic peace at Fayel has vanished. The lord

Sa fame remprosne forment 6212.
Mès n'ose pas son maltalent
Moustre par batre, tant est sage,
Car elle estoit de grant linage.

It comes about that the châtelain joins a crusading party for the East. At the last moment the lady is refused permission to go. She has shown over-much eagerness. The châtelain cannot now withdraw. In the East he dies. His heart, he commands, shall be given to Lady Fayel as memento of their loves. Fayel intervenes. The châtelain's heart is served as a choice morsel at table. The

lady, convinced of what she has partaken, is overcome with grief and speedily dies. Fayel seeks distraction in travel, but can find none whatsoever. After a few months he dies.

Such a tragedy must, I think, seem startling after what we have been examining. It would appear that it required a good century and a half for the Celtic depth of feeling to gain any real hold upon French minds.²⁹ Speaking of *Flamenca*, M. Paul Meyer observes that it is a work of a period "à laquelle tôt ou tard viennent aboutir toutes les littératures : celle où le récit d'aventures, si inouïes, si variées qu'on les suppose, ne suffit plus à exciter l'intérêt, où l'imagination n'ayant plus pour les faits extérieurs la curiosité du premier âge se complaît dans la description des sentiments intimes."³⁰ There are few such works in the Old French, and the *Châtelain de Coucy* is perhaps the best of them. *Sone de Nausay*, with all its genuine interest, lacks the form to give it currency. Chrétien was master almost to the end. If it is true that he wrote *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, we have but supported evidence of his genius. The story, to be sure, is mediocre. However, its author could please his public with a novel of wifely loyalty that was to find echo in the *Manekine* and *Octavian* more than a hundred years later.³¹ *Escanor* is in direct descent from *Yvain*. *Soredamor* (*Cligès*) is the first of the conventionally coy *jeunes filles*,³² and of the five heroines of intrigue here noticed Fenice, Athenais, and Idoine are "true lovers."

Doubtless in that century and a half liaisons were as usual at one period as at another.³³ We

²⁹ Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 57—"Est-ce Chrétien qui ne comprenait pas la légende Celtique?"

³⁰ *Le Roman de Flamenca*. p. p. Paul Meyer, Paris, 1865. p. xv.

³¹ Cf. *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre*, by Philip Ogden. Johns Hopkins Diss. Baltimore, 1900. Other legends of good women, as wives, were much read, e. g., *Le Comte de Poitiers* and *La Violette*, cf. R. Ohle: *Ueber die romanischen Vorläufer von Shakespeares Cymbeline*. Leipzig Diss., 1890.

³² *Soredamor* is inspired of Lavinia in the *Roman d'Énéas*, but Lavinia is not consistently modest. Cf. *Énéas*, p. p. Jacques Salverda de Grave, Halle, 1891. ll. 7857-9268.

³³ Cf. *La Satire des Femmes dans la Poésie Lyrique du Moyen Age*, by Theodore Lee Neff. Chicago Diss., Paris, 1900. pp. 68-88.

can discern that they were regarded throughout in the North of France with a certain moral earnestness. Romances of intrigue were infrequent. When undertaken, extraordinary circumstances were dwelt upon and the lovers were apt to marry. A plot of that character was sometimes only incidental. Or, as in the case of the *Châtelain de Coucy*, the story was of a sort to be deterrent in effect.³⁴ The tone of the châteaux may have been not seldom that of the chevalier de la Tour Landry: "Il n'est ou monde plus grant trayson que de decevoir aucunes gentils femmes, ne leur accroistre aucun villain blâme." The chevalier wrote in his old age. Jean de Meun, with his *viude chambre fait dame fole*,³⁵ speaks as a young man.

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THE SUBSEQUENT UNION OF DYING DRAMATIC LOVERS.

In *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 54, Mr. G. C. Moore Smith calls attention to what he considers as the probable source of a couplet in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act IV, sc. 3, ll. 57-8, where Juliet says:

"stay, Tybalt stay;
Romeo, I come! this do I drink to thee."

Mr. Smith cites the last line of Marlowe's *Dido* as perhaps suggesting these last words of Juliet. The line is as follows:

"Now, sweet Iarbas stay! I come to thee (*kills herself*)."

It is true that the words of these two speeches do resemble each other in a rather striking manner, but it will be observed that the motifs are not quite the same. In the first place, the word "stay" in Juliet's speech is not spoken to her lover, but in Dido's speech the same word is addressed to the one beloved of the unhappy queen. Again, while the words of Dido are really her last, those of Juliet are only appar-

ently, or rather perhaps possibly, so. While Dido means that she will presently join her lover in another world, Juliet thinks only, it may be, of meeting Romeo in the tomb, where, at the end of her death-like sleep, they will unite and set out at once together for Mantua. It is not to be denied, however, that Juliet has some misgivings as to the effects of the potion, but she can hardly think, in spite of the fact that she places a dagger by her side as a precaution, that she and her husband are to be united in death at the tomb, much less in a future world.

A closer parallel to Dido's line, at least as far as the motifs are concerned, is to be found in a speech of Ferdinand, in the final scene of the catastrophe of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, in which the hero, after Luise, his lover, has already died of poison, and after he himself has swallowed the fatal draught, says:

"Luise!—Luise!—Ich komme."

A somewhat similar motif is found in the last scene of the catastrophe of Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, ll. 2151-53, where the lovers, after they have drunk their poison and have come fully to realize the fact that they are soon to die together, say, in the midst of intense physical suffering:

"Vers des clartés nouvelles
Nous allons tout à l'heure ensemble ouvrir nos ailes.
Partons d'un vol égal vers un monde meilleur."

There is an idea underlying these tragic catastrophes that is common to many romantic dramas, the idea being a contribution from Mediæval Christianity; and this idea is the belief that tempest-tossed and star-crossed lovers, who go down in defeat in their unequal conflict in this world, will be victoriously united in another world. This idea is much akin to that of martyrdom, and is not to be considered therefore as wholly tragic. Such romantic heroes feel as if they come forth more as conquerors than as victims, and easily console themselves for their stormy and troubled earthly life by the fact that they die together, both cherishing the hope that they are about to be finally and forever united. *Hernani*, in Hugo's *Hernani*, ll. 2155-58, says to his dying sweet-heart:

"Oh! béni soit le ciel qui m'a fait une vie
D'âmes entourée et de spectres suivie,
Mais qui permet que, las d'un si rude chemin,
Je puisse m'endormir ma bouche sur ta main!"

³⁴ Cf. *La Chastelaine de Vergi*. *Romania*, XXI, pp. 165-193.

³⁵ *Roman de la Rose*, l. 9903.